1: Steinen--37)E-5 (1884) 1886 SPP Bacairi 897

/159 cont./

862 574 It contributed no little to the enhanc[ement] of the holiday mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvá /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandic[a] pulp, and, above [292] all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ we[re] served. Everyone was separately offered in large bowls three [kinds:] a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch fl[our], another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, wa[ter] and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in [order] to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely ec[stat]ic treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this Afri[can] ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particu[larly], and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepte[d] the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draugh[ts].

It cannot be said that the barbarians [actu]ally expressed great astonishment. In general they did no[t] pay any attention to skin-color and beard; true, they admire[d] the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children wh[o] are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents [at] Christmas. A [152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; [the] women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in th[e] laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, hov[wev]er, they urgently begged "åla, åla -- it is enough." At the [sight] /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frighte[ned] that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

● 437 439 The Bakairí paid us a return visit wi[th] wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an e[nth]usiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bart[ered] for arrows or feathers and puvás in exchange for buttons [and] worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be stru[ng] on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, [es]pecially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorc[eress] ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, w[ith] she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spo[on], a tin plate, and

/160 cont./

439 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[564] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[87] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakairi boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park; behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Paubaga, as our apostle of peace is
199 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[239] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEST continues on P. 40]

/166 cont./

252 trick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 [437] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The

[531] Bakairí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship. one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters. two meters more may be figured for the falls

[224] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness

136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps: among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the

122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5°.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.

122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

2. Steinen--15ED-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1884 SP7 Bakairi SP7

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange
for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the
Bakairí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have
a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take ad-
vantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[36] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakairí village lying
downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps ob-
tain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those
remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men
who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to
ride with me to the second Bakairí village; there we could
complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back
to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to com-
mence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time,
Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large
cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with
the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at
Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and
the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could
not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakairí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they
had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned
to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst
that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice
in a little sketch, this will give me the opportunity to report
many little traits of the good people which could not be put in
a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without
value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are
accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared
when the larger group arrived later: the complete unconcern
which they showed toward me as a single individual did not
remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books. And here I
159 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

2: Steinen--62 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi 577

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Igufti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mẽgo-zõto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramõke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

594 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered
[439] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of
fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and
ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by
men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel
and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should
like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the
evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of
the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on
the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like
roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all
of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers
ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms
out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He
disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with
beiú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was
the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always
announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses
were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body
down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They
[534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be
sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us.
two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first
cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ihaí, ihíif
huχó, ihaí ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is
nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe,
changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost
melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the
Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient
with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling
and stamping. for my part, however, I can only say that the
very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

2: Steinen--390 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1994 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

B /333 cont./

*191 439 T 191 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zôto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their specialty the neck chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaclapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaíben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B [437]

B *191 437 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

/333 cont./

#171 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as
● 439 yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture,
#171 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable
594 in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels
877 absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us.
[14] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kúra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurúpa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

#171 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one ob-
123 ject for another was at first completely new to all the tribes.
439 They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

#171 Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the
55 grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The
[993] names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand. Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[262] est land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage
403 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[533] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trade of war

437 628 574 [526] over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tulâki*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 721 The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*pima*) who was assisted by an *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. 622 624 The *itáida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itáida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itáida* succeeded him.

622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the [624] village feared attack the *pima* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning dis- [627] putes and other village affairs took place in the [682] ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and [68] others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the [691] common action of the villagers. Exile was con- [762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.